10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a house, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Malquilahue on the day that the gillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152. The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman, or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts somedun ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a chempiro (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that chempiro," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152. If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her account with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152. Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, "That family of Maquehe does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!"

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place).

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact raising and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "Indios," but as "Indigenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated in the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist.

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl

10: Bélgor E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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578 "It would not cause the cause." Ville
cess, generally hurled back and forth
forced out to translate. "They are
them; they are not words related to
are so bad that should a mother be
will not call her children by them." C
calling names "ghost," "dog," and
"sorcerer." He directs the reader (
pp. 50-58) for a list including grosser

An old man gave a example of an
"men in old days." He spoke it to
wife and daughter expressed displea
translated it as meaning, "Would that
be unlucky." He added, "This is the
Mapuche use say to another."

578 Murder is known to have resulted
1952 related in which relatives of an Arauca
to a Chilean came to the woman's rel
taking the land on which she and her
There had been much quarreling betw
the land, because Chileans, as the rel
live on Araucanian land. One of the
leather strap; with it, she said, she w
land if he refused to leave it. When the
to do this. The Chilean grabbed the st
severely with it that she died a few
accompanied by his brother, immediately
civil authorities. He was sentenced to
immediate relatives of the woman
sided with the Chilean on the ground th
to whip this man or any other man. Th
Chilean man was not known to be a
lost his temper." The interpreter com
held anyone of their own who is guilt
even a near relative. They say that
offense and is deserving of his punishm

759 Revenge is taken upon another by
witchcraft (pp. 154-155), or to his pr
into his food or drink, or by bringing
craft. I was told of a case of a jeal
tanous wives) who bore her husband
wives did. When these other two wi
her child in her arms, the machi was

pressions used by angry per-
tween them, informants pre-
y bad words; I will not tell
n. We have words, too, that
angry with her children, she
oper lists among common in-
ad," and, as worst of all,
5, p. 729) to Guevara (1911,
insults.

ecation used by Araucanians,
w tones in Araucanian. His
re, in fact slight horror. He
were the will of God that you
worst thing of all that one

rom anger. An instance was
ian woman who was married
and told her that they were
Chilean husband were living.
en the two groups regarding
ives claimed, had no right to
omen relatives had with her s
uld whip the Chilean off the
quarrel was on, she attempted
p and whipped the woman so
ours later. The Chilean, ac-
elivered himself up to Chilean
ree years' imprisonment. The
l nothing; more distant ones
t the woman had had no right
e informant continued: "That
uarrelsome man; he probably
l: "The Mapuche do not up-
ed by the Chilean courts, not
the person has committed an
ent."

ing harm to his fields through
son by secretly putting poison
kness upon him through witch-
a machi (one of three simul-
no child; while the other two
es were found dead, one with
cused of poisoning them.

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

181 for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and
157 I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do. And now I should show you how we danced!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

828 Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feeblemindedness
[732] was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

152 Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 264 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

18: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows him. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy."

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome. "She too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries."

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapun; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture.

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a weicufü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she stated. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart

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[594] mits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the [595] father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the garden, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the mobile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children [598] grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable [599] to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of [592] many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is channeled through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family [601] members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and [593] responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then [606] may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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155 aware of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the rule.

155 157 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanations rather than dictums being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children – at least until parental patience is exhausted.

161 Where a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or elder sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [52] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to disconcile their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [152] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

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Mapuche

work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has been observing for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is a fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, to which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father—even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not uncommon today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions -- especially those concerning the homestead -- are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Females do not undergo a
naming ceremony, which might possibly account for the high
correlation between "evil" and "female." Be that as it may, the
greatest fear of a dying man is that he will have no close
kinsmen to propitiate his spirit, a concern which underscores the
Mapuche desire for many sons and their despair that young
people are emigrating from the reservations. In any case, in the
transition from ancestral spirit to ghost, a qualitative change
takes place in the essence of the being. There are no evil
ancestral spirits in Mapucheland; the evil spirits are those
which have become tools of the witch and whose essence has
become contaminated. Therefore, when souls of the dead become evil, they automatically become *wekufe* and/or ghosts. In a later chapter I will discuss this matter in relation to ancestor propitiation.

Witranalwe (i.e. *witran*: strange or alien; *alwe*: spirit) and *anchimallen* are ghosts in human-like form. They can make themselves invisible at will, and can also transform themselves into other forms of *wekufe* as the need arises. *Witranalwe* are the more forbidding of the two and are generally described as larger than human in size, dressed in black or white clothing, and mounted on a huge horse. *Anchimallen* are small ghosts, usually dressed in white, which are either fully or partly luminescent. *Witranalwe* are ghosts of dead adults as *anchimallen* are ghosts of dead children. Both are under the control of *kalku* who have spirited them from the burial ground under various circumstances. Like the other forms of *wekufe*, however, they have a measure of freedom of action, likewise attributed to a slackening of alertness or loss of power on the part of the *kalku*. They may kill their mistress if she is not wary or powerful enough to satiate their desire for fresh blood.

Both are abroad mostly at night. A *witranalwe* is terrifying enough to kill people simply by passing close to them on the roads where it gallops on a charging horse. One can escape a *witranalwe* by outriding it, but that is possible only when the ghost is acting as a free agent, not when it is at the command of a witch. When the *witranalwe* is under a witch's direction, it proceeds to the victim's house and, circling it several times on horseback, causes death to the intended victim. It is able to change size, to become very large, and to jump its horse over the

12. Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

764 weekend. When such burial takes place, the wrapper and the canoe-coffin are usually prepared well in advance, kept in the chief's or shaman's house, long an object of display to visitors.

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152 Immediately upon death there is a great demonstration of sorrow on the part of the deceased's family, especially by the adult females, who alternately sob and wail their grief, tear their hair and clothing, and imprecate the evil spirits (*weküfe*) and the sorcerer responsible for causing death. At this time promises are made to avenge the "murder," regardless of the circumstances under which the person died. Grief is obviously deeply felt. Demonstrations of sorrow at the loss of a kinsman and neighbor, and wrath against the *weküfe*, are repeatedly and spontaneously made. All who maintain the deathwatch participate in extolling the deceased. The *türikawin* (black gathering) is a tearful and noisy affair, attended by much drinking and the performance of spontaneous *canipellon*, during which the rulers hurl invectives at the forces of evil who are lurking about to capture the departed spirit. This action, more than the washing of the body, is the ritually purifying act, the functional equivalent of the *ewen* (driving off the evil spirits) during the *füllatun* ceremony. The importance of this concept is reflected in the entire funeral ceremony being called *ewen* (enrichment).

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574 The tempo of activities during the wake increases with the arrival of more relatives. Drinking becomes heavier and the wailing and mandlin songs more frequent. Most of the visitors who live nearby spend a respectful length of time at the wake, and may return on successive occasions, but once advised of the death they prepare themselves for the *ewen* celebration, the major festive demonstration of the obligation of the living to the dead. Those relatives who have travelled some distance to attend the services remain in the house of the deceased or his relatives living on the reservation. They take up the death watch on successive days and nights prior to the final burial. Except for this nucleus of closest kinsmen there is an ebbing and flowing of mourners, as the guests arrive and depart, to make themselves ready for the second and the final phases of the funeral.

The death watch, variously called *mofietun* (curing, sustaining), *kurikawin* (black gathering), and the Spanish-derived

12: Faron E-4, 3 (1952-1954) 1964
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which hinges on any human death—relationships integral to the structure of Mapuche morality.

To the outsider the most impressive aspect of any funeral is that the atmosphere is charged with a fear of sorcery and the presence of malevolent spirits. As discussed in Chapter Three, death is supernaturally caused, even accidental death (*wesa f'an*), and strange noises and other omens of evil are reported in the community after a death. Evil is a cumulative force. The Mapuche are sometimes hard-pressed to explain the death of old people in this context, at least with the logic they apply to untimely death, but they give substantial evidence that no matter what the circumstances, they believe death is attributable to the forces of evil. Formerly, Mapuche are believed to have lived to be centenarians, some having achieved the two-hundred-year mark. Nowadays, Mapuche live no longer than Chileans. The burgeoning army of *wekufe* is always with them. Almost every house—from someone's point of view—has its *kalku*.

When the corpse is still in the house, during the wake, its spirit is called *f'eyen*; once out of the house, on the ceremonial field, it is called *pelle* (among other names). The point is, that fear of the well-being of the spirit begins immediately when death occurs. During the wake, the *ampellun* (roughly, "so the spirit may go") is automatically and repeatedly practiced, performed in order to release the spirit from the confines of the house and to chase away the *wekufe*. When there are signs that the *wekufe* are lurking about the house, the spirit is still *f'eyen*, which means that the beginnings of the funeral service have not been completely successful.

Spontaneous imprecations of the evil spirits at the wake and formalized wailing and further imprecation at the funeral ceremony occur on all occasions of death. The community is truly fearful, remorseful, and determined to perform the funeral rites in the most perfect manner known to them. Furthermore, because of this rampant fear, there is a need felt by all who assist at the funeral to clear one's self, one's lineage, and one's household from complicity in death. Attendance and expressions of *kume piuke* symbolize before the entire ritual community that all those in mourning, or those represented by kinsmen who are mourners, are pure in heart.